

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 04583 281405Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-15 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-10 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10

L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 EURE-00 EB-11 OMB-01

ACDA-19 DRC-01 /156 W  
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P R 280855Z SEP 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1816

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

US MISSION GENEVA 1400

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 4583

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM

SUBJECT: CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES: SENIOR POLADS REVIEW

ALLIED POSITION ON ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS

REF: A) USNATO 4553; B) STATE 190292; C) GENEVA 5127

D) USNATO 4533

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

SUMMARY: SENIOR POLADS ON SEPTEMBER 27 AGREED TO FORWARD BASIC NATO PAPER ON ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND MANEUVERS TO COUNCIL FOR DISCUSSION AT OCTOBER 3 MEETING. REVISED COVER NOTE WILL IDENTIFY REMAINING ISSUES, IN PARTICULAR WHETHER LISTS SHOULD INCLUDE MOVEMENTS AND QUESTION OF TACTICS FOR GENEVA. ACTION REQUIRED: GUIDANCE PREFERABLY BEFORE OCTOBER 3 NAC. END SUMMARY.

1. REFERRING TO REVISED TEXT AND COVER NOTE OF POLADS(73)14 AS CIRCULATED SEPTEMBER 26 (REF A), CHAIRMAN (KASTL) PROPOSED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 04583 281405Z

DOCUMENT BE SENT TO NAC FOR ITS NEXT MEETING, WITH A VIEW TO FORWARDING AGREED ALLIED POSITION TO GENEVA NEGOTIATORS, WHO WERE ALREADY ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN CBM DISCUSSION WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS. HE DID NOT EXPECT SPC TO BE ABLE TO RESOLVE ISSUES DESCRIBED IN

PARAS 4 AND 5 OF COVER NOTE, BUT HOPED THAT SOME OF RESERVATIONS IN PARA 3 OF COVER NOTE COULD BE LIFTED.

2. NORWEGIAN, DANISH, AND GREEK REPS SAID THEY HAD NO FURTHER RESERVATIONS AND COULD NOW ACCEPT TEXT OF POLADS DOCUMENT.

3. U.S. REP REQUESTED REVISION OF PARA 4(I) OF COVER NOTE, AS INSTRUCTED REF B PARA 1, AND THERE WAS OF COURSE NO OBJECTION TO U.S. REFINEMENT OF CHAIRMAN'S UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. VIEWS. ITALIAN REP ANNOUNCED TO GENERAL SURPRISE OF OTHERS THAT ROME HAD REVIEWED QUESTION OF PRIOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND NOW WISHED TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH U.S. POSITION. CHAIRMAN SAID COVER NOTE WOULD BE REVISED TO REFLECT ITALIAN STATEMENT.

4. U.S. REP THEN OPPOSED LANGUAGE CONTAINED PARA 5(III) OF COVER NOTE ON TACTICS IN GENEVA. U.S. REP ACKNOWLEDGED CHAIRMAN'S REJOINDER THAT THIS LANGUAGE IS DESCRIPTION OF VIEWS OF ALLIES OTHER THAN U.S. (THE UK, SUPPORTED BY ALL OTHERS INCLUDING ITALY) AND FORMS PART OF CHAIRMAN'S DESCRIPTION OF ISSUES. HOWEVER, U.S. REP SAID HE WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO OPPOSE (PARA 2, REF B). CHAIRMAN ASKED U.S. TO WITHDRAW OBJECTION TO THIS POINT IN COVER NOTE.

5. CONCERNING THE DOCUMENT ITSELF IN AGREEING TO REVISED LANGUAGE IN PARA 6 OF REF A ON MANEUVERS, INCLUDING NAVAL AND AIR, U.S. REP GAVE INTERPRETATION DRAWN FROM REF B PARA 3. THERE WERE NO OBJECTIONS.

6. RE FOOTNOTING OF REFERENCE TO MANEUVERS OF BRIGADE STRENGTH OPPOSITE NORTHERN NORWAY (REF B PARA 4), NORWEGIAN REP AGREED AD REF TO PROCEDURE PROPOSED BY U.S.

7. ON QUESTION OF TIME SPAN OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION (REF B PARA 5), MC REP CITED SACEUR RATIONALE FOR MAXIMUM OF 60 DAYS FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION IN REPLY TO PREFERENCE EXPRESSED BY U.S. REP FOR ANNUAL CALENDARS. SACEUR HAD SUBMITTED VIEW TO MC THAT ANNUAL CALENDARS WOULD PERMIT WARSAW PACT TIME TO ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE WESTERN PARLIAMENTS AND PUBLIC OPINION TO OPPOSE CARRYING OUT CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 04583 281405Z

OF PROJECTED MANEUVERS. ALSO, SOVIETS WOULD HAVE TIME TO PLAN SOPHISTICATED INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS; WEST COULD NOT CAPITALIZE ON SIMILAR OPPORTUNITIES BECAUSE OF TIGHTER WARSAW PACT CONTROLS. MC HAD ENDORSED SACEUR VIEW. CANADIAN REP ASKED IF SOVIETS WOULD REALLY DEPEND ON PUBLIC NOTIFICATION TO KNOW WHEN ALLIED MANEUVERS WERE SCHEDULED. IF SO, ISSUE WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT ONE. IF NOT, WOULD IT NOT BE MORE DESIRABLE TO LEAVE GENEVA NEGOTIATORS WITH THEIR HANDS FREE ON THIS POINT?

8. CHAIRMAN ON PERSONAL BASIS SYMPATHIZED WITH CANADIAN VIEW, AND PROPOSED FOLLOWING LANGUAGE FOR PARA 10 OF REF A TEXT, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT U.S. INSTRUCTIONS: " PRIOR NOTIFICATION COULD BE GIVEN EITHER NOT MORE THAN 60 DAYS IN ADVANCE OR ON THE BASIS OF ANNUAL

CALENDARS. THIS MATTER SHOULD BE STUDIED FURTHER BEFORE FINAL COMMITMENTS ARE ENTERED." U.S. AND OTHER REPS ACCEPTED CHAIRMAN'S PROPOSAL.

9. MC REP ASKED FOR REINSERTION IN CONSENSUS TEXT OF LAST SENTENCE OF EARLIER VERSION OF POLADS(73)14, WHICH READS: "IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES WILL PROVIDE THEIR COMMENTS ON THE SUGGESTED MANEUVERS BEFORE THE LISTS ARE FINALIZED." THERE WERE NO OBJECTIONS.

10. IN LIGHT OF ACCEPTANCE BY OTHERS OF POINTS IN U.S. INSTRUCTIONS ON BASIC TEXT OF PAPER, CHAIRMAN ASKED IF U.S. COULD WITHDRAW ITS RESERVATION, AS GIVEN IN PARA 3(II) OF COVER NOTE. U.S. REP SAID HE COULD NOT WITHDRAW RESERVATION, BUT AGREED TO RESTATEMENT OF PARA 3(II) TO INDICATE THAT U.S. DIFFICULTIES ON PAPER LIMITED TO QUESTION OF INCLUSION OF MOVEMENTS IN ADVANCE NOTIFICATION, AS DESCRIBED IN NEXT PARA OF COVER NOTE.

11. COMMENT: DESPITE ITALIAN SWITCH, THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF GIVE IN POSITION OF OTHER ALLIES ON INCLUSION OF MOVEMENTS IN ADVANCE NOTIFICATION PROPOSAL, AND WE DO NOT FORESEE RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE AT OCTOBER 3 NAC. GIVEN IMPASSE HERE ON THIS ISSUE, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT UK TACTICAL PROPOSALS AS REFLECTED IN PARA 5(III) OF COVER NOTE ARE BEST AVAILABLE MEANS FOR AVOIDING PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION OF ALLIED DIVISION. ASIDE FROM MERITS OF THE QUESTION, REF C INDICATES THAT ALLIES ARE IN FACT AIRING THEIR VIEWS IN GENEVA, THE U.S. IS REMAINING SILENT, AND UK PROPOSALS HAVE BECOME A FAIT ACCOMPLI. ALSO, AS WE POINTED OUT IN REF D, RES-CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 04583 281405Z

PONSIBILITY, AND NOT IN AGREED DOCUMENT, IS A NEW DEVELOPMENT SINCE OUR RECEIPT OF INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED REF B. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES

WE RECOMMEND THAT U.S. PERMREP SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED AT OCTOBER 3 NAC TO PROPOSE DELETION OF PARA 4(II) OF CHAIRMAN'S COVER NOTE AND SUBSTITUTION OF FULLY AGREED LANGUAGE ALONG LINES OF PARA 5(III) WHEN DOCUMENT IS FORWARDED TO GENEVA. WITH REGARD TO BASIC TEXT OF PAPER, WE RECOMMEND ACCEPTANCE OF NEW VERSION OF REF A, WITH MINOR MODIFICATIONS ADOPTED BY SPC AS DESCRIBED ABOVE. REQUEST GUIDANCE FOR OCTOBER 3 NAC, PREFERABLY ONE OR MORE DAYS BEFORE MEETING IN ORDER TO PERMIT PRIOR INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AND TO FACILITATE FINAL NAC ACTION AT MEETING ITSELF. END COMMENT. RUMSFELD.

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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